594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
837 wo·'iĭn.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

● 591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or
[578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law
784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yĭtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[763] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was
591 too far; no one goes over there now for acorns
from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful
[252] right near home. Those acorns that grow up at
Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter.
You have to work with them a long time to get
them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all
right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones
come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with
them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda
574 at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and
438 return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd
just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each
other what we had been doing all the time. I'd
gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of
using acorn meal, but the children all liked
chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler
used to come around all the time to trade baskets
for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from
him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost
me $4 in trade.

159 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone
763 in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he
273 was riding that horse and hit him on the side of
682 his head with his wing. Six months after that my
husband died; he was killed. He went over to
Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with
a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one
saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in
his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody
killed him and then took that money off him, be-
cause the pocket he had it in was cut off with a
knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his
wife down here, working for the Brown company; a
white man came and told him about Pete's being
killed. Then they all left that camp and came up
and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols';
Estefana and another girl went up and got her,
then we waited here all day. They were going to
bring my husband's body over here and bury it
down here, but they kept it over in Kernville
all day. My son had no money to pay a man for
bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man
said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then
that white man gave my son $7. The white men at
Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there
at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville
and that man brought the body over here.

159 When they brought Pete's body back from Kern-
764 ville everybody came and stayed at our place that
765 night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in
Spanish). We all cried; one person would start
crying, then everybody would cry, all night long.
The next morning we buried the body. I burned
all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mat-
tresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save
anything of his. The plates I broke and threw
away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well.
If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have
walked around inside the house, bothering us.
[231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son
and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
522 bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
● 591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old then. We lived up at yïtiyamup; Legora and Willie
585 and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't e.er talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yĭtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
● 591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me
159 sick again," she said. She's still frightened
754 because those witches made her sick that time. They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we
[245] returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left; he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and
484 his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come